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TAGS: PEPR, EGEN, ETRD, EFIN, PORG, RO, UR, CH

SUBJECT: CEAUSESCU ON THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, THE
SOVIET LEADERSHIP, AND CHINA

1. SUMMARY. DURING A LUNCH SECRETARY VANCE AND DR. BRZEZINSKI DISCUSSED WITH ROMANIAN PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU THE STATUS OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AND HOW MOST EFFECTIVELY TO INCLUDE THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET UNION, IN THAT DIALOGUE; THE FUTURE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION; AND U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHINA. IN THE LATTER DISCUSSION PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU URGED EARLY NORMALIZATION AND INDICATED THAT CHINA WOULD PLAY A MUCH MORE IMPORTANT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. SECRETARY VANCE AND DR. BRZEZINSKI EXPLAINED THE DOMESTIC SITUATION AND THE NEED FOR PURSUING
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PRIORITIES IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. END SUMMARY.

2. NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES NEED TO PLAY A LARGER ROLE AND THE "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES IN PARTICULAR, INCLUDING ROMANIA, SHOULD BE MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED. SECRETARY VANCE AGREED. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT THE UNITED NATIONS MECHANISM IS GOOD FOR DISCUSSION OF NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES BUT NEEDS IMPROVEMENT. IF WE WISH TO

OVERCOME THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS IT IS NECESSARY THAT ALL COUNTRIES WORK ACTIVELY TO IMPROVE NOT ONLY THEIR PRODUCTION CAPACITY BUT THEIR SATISFACTION OF CONSUMER NEEDS. SECRETARY VANCE OBSERVED THAT THE MOST PRESSING ITEM IN THE NORTH-SOUTH AGENDA IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMON FUND, FOR BOTH SYMBOLIC AND SUBSTANTIVE REASONS. THE SECRETARY ASKED WHAT CEAUSESCU WOULD RECOMMEND TO ACHIEVE GREATER PARTICIPATION FROM THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU SAID THAT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY THE SOVIET UNION, HAVE UNDERESTIMATED THE PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ROMANIA HAS HAD MANY DEBATES WITH THE SOVIETS ON THIS POINT. THE SOVIETS SEE IT AS A PROBLEM OF COLONIALISM AND NOT OF DEVELOPMENT. THERE IS SOME VALIDITY TO THE SOVIET POSITION, BUT IT IS HIS VIEW THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL EVENTUALLY PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. SECRETARY VANCE ASKED HOW THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED. CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT WHEN THESE MATTERS ARE DISCUSSED AT THE UNITED NATIONS, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO INVOLVE THE SOVIETS AND SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. SECONDLY, WHEN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PLAY A MORE SUBSTANTIAL ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT OF CONCRETE PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES, SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WILL BE IN A SITUATION TO WHICH THEY MUST RESPOND.

3. SECRETARY VANCE SAID HE THOUGHT THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD BE USED TO STIMULATE SOCIALIST COUNTRY PARTICIPATION AND HE THOUGHT PERHAPS THE "OVERVIEW COMMITTEE" WOULD BE A CONFIDENTIAL

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GOOD VEHICLE. HE BELIEVED THAT IF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WERE TO PRESS THE SOVIETS AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES INTO A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, IT WOULD BE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS THAN IF THE UNITED STATES WERE TO DO SO SINCE THE SOVIETS WOULD CONSIDER OUR PRESSURES A SOURCE OF CONFRONTATION. CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WANT TO KEEP THE ISSUE IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' INITIATIVES. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES NEED HELP FROM THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY IN MODERN TECHNOLOGY BUT THEY NEED ALSO TO WORK MORE EFFECTIVELY AMONG THEMSELVES.

4. SOVIET LEADERSHIP. DR. BRZEZINSKI ASKED CEAUSESCU WHO HAD IMPRESSED HIM OR STRUCK HIM AS PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE IN THE SECOND RANK IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU SAID THAT IT WAS HARD FOR HIM TO TALK ABOUT INDIVIDUALS. HE ASKED RHETORICALLY WHO COULD HAVE PREDICTED FIVE YEARS AGO THAT HUA WOULD BECOME THE LEADER OF CHINA. DR. BRZEZINSKI SAID THAT OF COURSE NO ONE CAN PREDICT WITH CERTAINTY, BUT THE QUESTION IS WHETHER THE NEXT LEADERSHIP IN THE USSR WILL LOOK TO WIDENING COOPERATION WITH THE WEST OR BECOME MORE NATIONALISTIC AND EXPANSIONIST. THIS IS

A VERY IMPORTANT QUESTION THAT DOES NOT RELATE JUST TO PERSONALITIES. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU EXPRESSED HIS CONVICTION THAT THE GENERAL TREND IN THE WORLD IS TOWARD COOPERATION AND RAISING OF LIVING STANDARDS. NO LEADERSHIP CAN

IGNORE THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE LARGE MASSES OF ITS PEOPLE FOR A BETTER LIFE.

5. CHINA. SECRETARY VANCE ASKED WHETHER THE PRESIDENT BELIEVED CHINA WAS PREPARED TO PLAY A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN THE WORLD. HE SAID THE CHINESE HAD TOLD HIM WHEN HE WAS VISITING THERE THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO BE VERY SPARING IN THEIR ROLE IN THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT ONE SHOULD REALIZE THAT CHINA HAS ITS OWN SITUATION. IT IS ONE THIRD OF THE WORLD AND HAS CONFIDENTIAL

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LIMITED CAPACITY TO HELP THOSE BEYOND ITS BORDERS. YET, HE ADDED, CHINA WILL PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. SECRETARY VANCE AGREED SAYING THAT HE HOPES THEY WILL ALSO PLAY MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS, WHERE THEY HAVE AT TIMES APPEARED TO WITHDRAW FROM DEBATES. DR. BRZEZINSKI SAID THAT THE CHINESE HAVE DISPLAYED IN THEIR HISTORY PERIODS OF WITHDRAWAL AND REJECTION OF THE WORLD AND OTHER PERIODS OF PROJECTION AND DEEP INVOLVEMENT. HUA'S RECENT SPEECH IMPLIES A BROADLY GAUGED PROGRAM BASED ON TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT, WHICH SUGGESTS A MUCH GREATER AND A LONG-TERM CHINESE INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORLD. CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT CHINA'S PRESENT PLANS WILL LEAD IT TO BECOME A VERY POWERFUL COUNTRY. AS TO CHINESE RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED IN THE U.N., THE UNITED STATES MUST REALIZE THAT THE CHINESE CANNOT ACCEPT A CERTAIN DEGREE OF DICTAT WITHIN THAT BODY. ALSO IT IS NOT BY CHANCE THAT CHINA RECENTLY SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO INSURE AN ADEQUATE FLOW OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY, SINCE IT WAS UNABLE TO GET ASSURANCES FROM OTHER QUARTERS. ON THAT NOTE, PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU URGED THAT THE UNITED STATES MOVE TOWARD COMPLETE NORMALIZATION WITH CHINA.

6. SECRETARY VANCE SAID THAT PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE UNITED STATES ARE COMMITTTED TO COMPLETE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA ON THE BASIS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. CEAUSESCU SAID A LONG TIME HAS ELAPSED SINCE THAT COMMUNIQUE. SECRETARY VANCE AGREED THAT ACTION MUST BE TAKEN IN THE NOT-TOO-DISTANT FUTURE BUT THE TIMING MUST TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE OTHER PRESSING MATTERS CURRENTLY ON OUR PLATTER IN FOREIGN RELATIONS. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT THE DECISIVE ROLE IN NORMALIZATION RESTS WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS SHOULD NOT BE SOLVED AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHERS. SECRETARY VANCE SAID THAT THE FIRST CONFIDENTIAL

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ITEM ON OUR AGENDA IS PANAMA, BOTH BECAUSE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH PANAMA AND OUR RELATIONS WITH THE ENTIRE DEVELOPING WORLD. CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT THE TREATY WAS VERY IMPORTANT BUT IT SHOULD NOT PREVENT THE UNITED STATES FROM TACKLING IMPORTANT PROBLEMS SUCH AS THOSE OF THE FAR EAST AND CHINA. IN FACT, APPROACHING THESE TOGETHER WOULD

BE COMPLEMENTARY. SECRETARY VANCE AGREED BUT SAID THE UNITED STATES HAS MANY THINGS BEFORE IT SUCH AS THE NUMEROUS PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, SALT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND A RANGE OF ECONOMIC ISSUES INCLUDING THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID ONE FREQUENT CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT CARTER IS THAT HE IS TRYING TO DO TOO MANY THINGS AT ONCE. PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU SAID HE HAD NO INTENTION OF ENTERING INTO A CRITICISM OF U.S. INTERNAL AFFAIRS. DR. BRZEZINSKI REPLIED THAT A UNIQUE FORM OF AMERICAN HOSPITALITY IS TO INVITE CRITICISM.

7. DR. BRZEZINSKI THEN SAID THAT SOVIET RELATIONS WITH CHINA ARE GOOD IN FORM AND BAD IN SUBSTANCE, WHILE U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHINA ARE GOOD IN SUBSTANCE AND BAD IN FORM. DR. BRZEZINSKI SAID THAT HE PREFERS THE UNITED STATES FORM OF RELATIONS WITH CHINA. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT THIS MAY BE TRUE BUT IT SHOULD NOT STOP US FROM SOLVING PROBLEMS. HE CITED A WELL KNOWN ROMANIAN PROVERB THAT "ONE SHOULD NEVER PUT OFF FOR TOMORROW WHAT ONE CAN DO TODAY". HE ADDED THAT THE FAVORABLE CONDITIONS OF TODAY CAN ALSO BE LOST TOMORROW. DR. BRZEZINSKI SAID THAT NORMALIZATION WITH CHINA IN AND OF ITSELF IS NOT ENOUGH. WE MUST SEEK A WIDER COMMONALITY OF INTERESTS, WHICH IS MORE IMPORTANT AND WHICH ARE AT THE PRESENT TIME BEING ESTABLISHED. CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT THERE IS ALREADY AN AREA OF COMMON INTEREST. DR. BRZEZINSKI REPLIED THAT THERE WAS INDEED SUCH AN AREA, AND THEY WERE THE SAME COMMON INTERESTS THAT WE HAVE WITH ROMANIA. CEAUSESCU DID NOT RESPOND, BUT REPEATED THAT OTHER PROBLEMS SHOULD NOT IMPEDE NORMALIZATION WITH CHINA. CONFIDENTIAL

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